

For research purposes only -- not for publication

FINAL REPORT ON PILOT STUDY ON RIGHT WING CHURCH GROUPS
FOR DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Compiled by:

Harald E. Winkler

University of Cape Town

January 1988

OUTLINE

INTRODUCTION

Part I: RIGHT-WING STUDIES ELSEWHERE

Part II: WHO ARE THESE GROUPS?

Part III: ANALYSIS OF THE PRIMARY MATERIAL

Part IV: A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO RIGHT-WING RELIGION

Part V: PROPOSALS FOR THE PROJECT

Part VI: LISTS OF RESOURCES AVAILABLE

ABBREVIATIONS:

| | |
|---------|--|
| ACTS | - Anglicans Concerned for Truth and Spirituality |
| APK | - Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk |
| APN | - Aida Parker Newsletter |
| ASL | - African Studies Library (UCT) |
| CfAN | - Christ for All Nations |
| CCI | - Campus Crusade International (aka: Life Ministry SA) |
| CDL | - Catholic Defence League |
| CMI | - Christian Mission International |
| GDL | - Gospel Defence League |
| JSM | - Jimmy Swaggart Ministries |
| NACLA | - North American Congress on Latin America |
| NG Bond | - Nederduitse Gereformeerde Bond |
| RICA | - Reformed Independent Churches Association |
| RWCGs | - Right Wing Church Groups |
| TFP | - Tradition, Family and Property |
| UCA | - United Christian Action |
| UCCP | - United Christian Conciliation Party |
| UE | - Underground Evangelism |
| Vets | - Veterans for Victory |
| WCCC | - Western Cape Council of Churches |
| WfSA | - Women for South Africa |

INTRODUCTION

In May 1987, Frank Chikane of the Institute for Contextual Theology proposed that the growth of conservative church groups in South Africa required detailed study [1]. Among other groups, the Department of Religious Studies at UCT recognizes this to be an area requiring research. The following report is the result of a preliminary investigation into right wing church groups (RWCGs), as a basis for possible further research projects.

The phenomenon of right wing church groups is a complex one. Some groups have existed for a long time, others have recently emerged in response to the increased polarization of South African society generally, and the church in particular. Some have been militantly conservative and have actively engaged in politics, others claim political neutrality and show their conservatism chiefly through their theology (The relation of theological conservatism to right wing politics is one of the central theoretical questions which arises in this study.). Many of the groups would describe themselves as Bible-believing, fundamentalist, evangelical Christians, yet there are evangelical Christians who are far from right-wing. There are groups which have open links with the government; most, however, claim to be independently financed. There are right wing church groups which limit themselves to one denomination (e.g. Catholic Defence League, ACTS), and many that are inter-denominational. However, many of the Protestant 'inter-denominational' groups have a strong anti-Catholic bias. Some RWCGs are indigenous to South Africa, others are imports from the USA. Given this complexity, the task of describing these groups needs to go hand in hand with the development of conceptual categories which can be used to understand the groups.

polarization
politics

This report is divided into six parts. Firstly, the extensive work which has been done in other countries (notably the USA) on RWCGs is described. The aim of this section is to set some goals which a study project would work towards, as well as learning from the methods of research employed in other countries. The section briefly examines what research has been published in SA.

Part II examines who the RWCGs in South Africa are. The list does not claim to be exhaustive. It provides names, addresses and a brief profile of the organization. Thirdly, some of the

1. For a copy of the proposal, see a collection of primary material in the African Studies Library (ASL), UCT.

primary material collected from these groups (i.e. their newsletter, pamphlets) is analysed to discern some common features and themes. Fourthly, an attempt is made to begin the process of conceptualizing the phenomenon of right wing church groups. This is probably the most incomplete section of the report.

In Part V, areas of investigation are suggested, each of which could form a sub-section of the larger research project. The final section lists resources (books, articles, libraries, newspapers, key figures) which might be helpful in studying right wing religion in South Africa.

Part I: RIGHT-WING STUDIES ELSEWHERE

In beginning the study of RWCGs in South Africa, one can learn much from similar studies done in the USA and in Third World countries. Such work provides one with an example of what one might be working towards, and also an idea of the methods used.

Third World

The most useful material on RWCGs in the Third World which I found was the NACLA Reports (North American Congress on Latin America). Volume XVIII was entirely devoted to conservative evangelicals, and other issues include articles every now and then. NACLA drew much on the investigative journalism which had been done by American papers (including the Wall Street Journal), the authors had a good knowledge of the history of Protestants and Evangelicals in the region, they drew on Mission Handbooks for contacts, and finally a field-worker spent 8 months in the region.

Apart from Latin America, I have heard that the liberation movement in the Philippines has good information about RWCGs in their countries. However, I have not found any written material.

The United States

Vast amounts of literature have been produced on the *New Religious Right* in the USA. One of the most important starting points for this seems to have been investigative newspaper reports, ranging from the Wall Street Journal to Christianity Today to Time articles to Penthouse interviews. On the basis of the raw material produced in such articles, serious academic papers have also been written (e.g. Martin Marty), and several research institutes and groups have become involved in this area. Whole bibliographies are available on the New Christian

Right (see Part VI). George M. Marsden's article (ref. Part VI) provides an invaluable summary of the history of the Religious Right in America.

Through this accumulation of material, substantial 'hard' information about the structures, finances and political affiliations of different groups has emerged. Furthermore, a detailed theological analysis and response has begun to emerge. As research reveals what the basis of the appeal of the RWCGs is, the counter-strategies also become clearer.

South Africa

Research on South African RWCGs is almost non-existent. Newspaper articles are few and far between, and they seldom probe beneath the surface; they tend to merely report what the groups said publicly. The only serious study - to my knowledge - is that by Morran and Schlemmer, commissioned by Diakonia. It investigated the 'new churches' (Rhema and Christian centres) in the Durban area, and analysed them sociologically in some detail. This study could certainly serve as a starting point for our project. Useful articles which have appeared are those by Mary de Haas (on millenarianism in the white community) and Paul Gifford (on Christ for All Nations in Zimbabwe). Gifford's article is impressive in its combination of a detailed theological critique with a non-theological analysis.

Morran
Schlemmer

Gifford

Apart from these few starting points, however, the area seems to be virtually unresearched. Much more simply descriptive work is required, and especially investigative work. How this situation might be addressed will become clear in the Proposals (Part V).

PART II: WHO ARE THESE GROUPS?

This list makes no pretense at being exhaustive. It would need to be up-dated continually as the project proceeds. A useful starting point for finding further groups is M. Froise's South African Christian Handbook, 1986/87, published by World Vision in 1986.

Quotes from these organizations are taken from their newsletters and letters. As far as possible, I have tried to reference these quotes properly; however, much of the material is in pamphlet form. A collection of the primary material from which these quotes are taken is being set up in the African Studies Library (ASL) at UCT.

Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk (APK)

Ds. Willie Lubbe

The APK is a break-away from the NG Kerk, reflecting the political split between the National Party and former supporters who now find the ultra-right wing more attractive. According to Business Day 4/9/87, it had taken over 72 congregations and 20 dominees from the NGK, mainly in the Transvaal. See also a report in the Weekly Mail 26/6 - 2/7/87. Also look through Die Afrikaner, Die Stem van die Volk and Die Kerkbode in the African Studies Library. reaction

Aida Parker Newsletter

P.O. Box 91059, Auckland Park 2006
17 Wargrave Ave., Auckland Park, JHB
Tel.: (011) 726-6856 pamphlet

The APN is one of the better-researched right-wing newsletters; it is also one of the most expensive (annual subscription R89-00). Aida Parker used to be a journalist working for Perskor. APN is generally a political newsletter, but fairly regularly carries articles attacking liberation theology and theologians, too.

APN in its own words: "APN's editorial philosophy is simple: 'We have a responsibility to our subscribers. We have a responsibility to South Africa. And we have a responsibility to the West'" (From an APN advertising letter; see ASL collection of primary material.).

reaction to

Anglicans Concerned for Truth and Spirituality (ACTS)

leader: Alastair McAuley

P.O. Box 23205, Innesdale 0031

ACTS is a right-wing group formed in the Anglican church in response to the clearer political position taken by the CPSA. It was formed in July 1985. The reaction of conservative Anglicans is also evident in the shift from the CPSA to the more conservative Church of England. For reference to ACTS, see Business Day of 26/6/87.

Bet-el Group of Ministries

Robbie Engelbrecht (Evangelist and founder)
D. O'Kelley (leader)

P.O. Box 23227, Innesdale 0031
385 Voortrekker Rd., Capital Park PTA
Tel.: (012) 323-2313 or 21-5655

reaction

The Bet-El Group of Ministries is an evangelistic organization, specializing in the distribution of media (tracts, Bibles, cassettes, films, videos) as far as possible. It publishes Pendulum, which contains fairly directly political content. Volume 1 is devoted almost entirely to the vilification of Archbishop Tutu, and includes a column by Dorothea Scarborough, of the Gospel Defence League.

In its own words, "Bet-El Evangelistic Action is an evangelistic inter-church, and non denominational organisation. It has an elected Board of Directors consisting of Born Again Christians, laymen and Businessmen who share and are committed to its vision" [2].

Campus Crusade International

P.O. Box 91015, Auckland Park 2006

US link

Also known as Life Ministry South Africa, Campus Crusade International (CCI) has historical links with the USA. Founded in 1951 by Bill Bright at UCLA, it came to SA in 1972. CCI takes a typical 'apolitical' posture. They claim "a ministry which is non-political in nature. (The following amplifies the position of the Africa Area of Affairs: This does not preclude individual staff taking a stand on issues of justice and righteousness within a society. However, staff may not write or say anything derogatory or which could be construed as derogatory, about the country in which they minister. Staff, while encouraged to vote as good citizens, are not to be involved in any partisan

"apolitical"

2. From a pamphlet, 'This is the Bet-El Group of Ministries', see ASL collection.

political activity.) Further amplification for the South African area: Life Ministry SA condemns injustice, exploitation, discrimination or any kind of oppression either by the State or subject and stands for justice, righteousness and peace for all regardless of race, colour or creed" [3]. The thrust of CCI's activities is evangelistic. Evangelical

Cercos (Centre for Reformed and Contemporary Studies)

Director: Chris L. Jordaan

P.O. Box 433, Pretoria, 0001

Tel.: (012) 323-0075 see below

Cercos was founded by members of the three Afrikaans churches. It aims, in its own words, "to study and resist the infiltration of ideologies into the church and the theology of the Reformed Protestant Churches in Southern Africa" [4]. It publishes a quarterly newsletter Oktober '46. It has a "close working relationship with UCA" - United Christian Action (see below).

Christ for All Nations (CfAN)

Pastor Reinhard Bonnke

Private Bag, Witfield 1467

Miranda Str., Witfield

(011) 826-6246 see below

CfAN is a crusade led by Reinhard Bonnke, a German evangelist. The aim of the crusade is to Christianize Africa; "Africa shall be saved" is their slogan. A clear analysis of the theology of CfAN, and its non-theological dimensions, has been made by Paul Gifford (see below).

Christian League of South Africa

Rev. Fred Shaw

The Christian League was one of the organizations discredited in the Information Scandal. It is uncertain how active it is at present; possibly some of its members have joined other RWCGs.

Christian Mission International (CMI)

Richard Wurmbbrand (founder); P.D. Henegan (executive director)

P.O. Box 7157, Primrose Hill 1417

Tel.: (011) 825-8376

3. Life Ministry SA, 'Doctrinal Statement of Faith', no date, no place of publication.

4. Letter by C. L. Jordaan, 26/10/87, see file.

CMI was founded in 1967 by Richard Wurmbrand. It sees as its three 'unique features' its aim of "exposing the liberal, leftist, ecumenical movement", doing social and relief work, and organizing a "vast literature outreach". The tone of its newsletter Voice of the Martyrs is largely anti-Communist and concerned with evangelism in communist countries. CMI also publishes occasional pamphlets, such as a response to the Kairos document. *anti Comm*

In its own words, CMI is a "Faith, Conservative, Christian, Anti-Communism, Non-Political Missionary Organization" [5].

Christosentro

P.O. Box 48020, Roosevelt Park 2129
Tel.: (011) 782-4995 (cf. Women for SA)

Frontline Fellowship

Leader: Peter Hammond

P.O. Box 74, Newlands 7725
Tel.: (021) 45-2083 or 61-2573

Frontline Fellowship was previously the Motorbike Mission. Frontline Fellowship publishes a regular newsletter. In its own words, aims at "... assisting persecuted churches in Mozambique, Angola and the Cape Verde Islands; bible distribution in communist lands; challenging South African Christians to pray for revival and missions; defending the church against the infiltration of unBiblical heresies; evangelism in war zones." Veterans for Victory, an organization dedicated to the elimination of the End Conscription Campaign, say of Frontline Fellowship: "This is a Christian Mission group, but don't be fooled by the name, Christian or Mission. These fellows go into Angola and Mozambique doing research and exposing communist murder and slaughter of innocents. ... They can supply information and photos of SWAPO and other terror groups" [6]. *Refused*

Gospel Defence League

Dorothea Scarborough

P.O. Box 17007, Regent Rd, 8061 Cape Town
Tel.: (021) 49-3209

5. Printed on the front of each of its newsletters, Voice of the Martyrs.

6. Veterans for Victory, undated newsletter, probably early 1987; see collection in ASL.

The GDL publishes a regular newsletter, signed by its founder Dorothea Scarborough. Scarborough is the wife of a dissident Congregational minister and ex-missionary. Her newsletter is also distributed in W. Germany, and she occasionally publishes material by German right-wingers. In particular, she has recently worked together much with Peter Beyerhaus, in publishing a lengthy denunciation of the Kairos document. The GDL newsletter attacks the ecumenical movement and radical South African churchpeople, and usually ends with a conservative theological reflection. The GDL also holds occasional public meetings.

reaction
+ protest

Jimmy Swaggart Missions

Mr. K. Lock

P.O. Box 10230, Johannesburg 2000
Tel.: (011) 337-6920

complex
in structure

Publishes The Evangelist, a magazine in which basic evangelical theology is mixed with attacks on other theologies. For example, 'new age theology' is attacked for falling in line with satanic plans: "Satan's three-fold, humanistic plan for taking over the world is basically simple, and you might be surprised at how well it correlates with this new theology. * Darwinism (Darwin) - the concept of evolution as it affects the social man. * Marxism (communism) - Satan's economic foundation. * Freudianism (psychology) - a profound influence on the morals of man. And there you have it: Satan's three-pronged assault - social, economic and moral" [7].

Jimmy Swaggart is involved in world-wide crusades, and claims literally millions of conversions. He is also not shy in asking for financial help for his efforts. In a 'personal' letter accompanying one of his publications, Swaggart wrote: "I must have the prayer of the body of Christ, and I must have your financial support. So I'm asking you to pray for this Ministry constantly. I implore you to pray for us. I plead you to pray for us. And then I need your financial support as well. Please remember this. As you seek the face of God and He deals with your heart, you may be led to sit down and write out a cheque for R20. Although that may not seem like much to many people, if it's all that you can do, it will be precious in the sight of God and will reap eternal results. However, if you sent R20 when you could easily have sent R50, or R100, or even R1000, well, then, the work of God will suffer" [8].

Swaggart has been particularly successful in gaining coverage from SABC TV, as well as Bop TV, Namibian and Mozambican

7. The Evangelist, v.8, n. 6, Oct/Nov. 1987, p.5.

8. Jimmy Swaggart, 'Foreign Crusades Appeal', circular letter, Oct/Nov 1987

channels. In SA, he can be seen between 7:00 and 8:00 p.m. on channels 2 and 3 [9].

Mission to the Communists

Dr. P.W. de Wet

PO Box 433, Pretoria 0001
Tel.: (012) 26-7013

Nederduitse Gereformeerde Bond

Prof. Carel Boshoff

In distinction to the APK, this movement attempted to 'reform' the NG Kerk from within, i.e. they attempted to stop the liberalization which they saw particularly in the document 'Kerk en Samelewing'. See report in Business Day, 4/9/87.

Operation Esther

P.O. Box 66417, Broadway, Johannesburg 2020
or:
P.O. Box 2013, Port Alfred 6170

Operation Esther is a prayer fellowship. Though claiming that they "are not in any way acting politically as we believe that Christians are instructed in the Word of God to pray for those in authority and leadership", the newsletter goes on to say that "there is no doubt that South Africa is experiencing a total onslaught" [10]. Operation Esther suggests detailed prayer lists for the state president, the defence force, christian coffee bars, protection of our borders and coastline, protection of strategic and public facilities, confusion amongst the enemies in their motive of attack against our land and for the salvation of our enemies... and many more [11].

The Protestant Association of South Africa

Rev. A H Jeffree James

PO Box 2976, 8000 Cape Town

The Reverend responded to the Kairos Document, and even more vehemently to the Evangelical Witness Document. Although he is

9. See the back page of The Evangelist, v. 8.n.6., Oct/Nov 1987.

10. Circular letter, Nov/Dec 1987, see ASL Collection.

11. Operation Esther, 'Prayer and Intercession Guideline', undated, see ASL Collection.

more temperate than others in his language, and is at pains to appear reasonable, the basic tenor is conservative. A good example of a Christian conservative posturing as neutral.

proTEST Informationsdienst

Pastor P. G. Kauffenstein

P.O. Box 3254, Kenmare 1745

Tel.: (011) 669-5200

Anti-ecum

Protest is a publication by Pastor P. G. Kauffenstein and his wife, aimed at Lutherans. It seeks to expose the ecumenical movement and the 'terrorism' of the liberation movements. It is also opposed to liberal tendencies in the EKD, the Lutheran church in Germany. It is specifically opposed to the infiltration of Marxist ideology into the church in the form of Liberation Theology. It claims to be unaffiliated to any political party or church.

Reformed Independent Churches Association (RICA)

Mokoena

Bishop Isaac Mokoena formed this conservative alliance of independent churches. RICA has lent its support to the United Christian Conciliation Party, and to the the Western Cape Council of Churches (see below).

Rhema Bible Church

Rev. Ray McAuley

Rhema Ministries SA

P.O. Box 574, Randburg, JOHANNESBURG

Rabie Str., Randparkrif

Tel.: (011) 793-3504

Voortrekkerweg 765, Wonderboom, PRETORIA

Tel.: (012) 76-1241

Kensington Drive, DURBAN North

Tel.: (031) 84-1333

35 Beaconsbury Drive, Beacon Bay, EAST LONDON

Tel.: (0431) 47-2848

Scala Bldg., Norfolk Str., Observatory CAPE TOWN 7925

tel. 417-2652

Rhema Bible Church was started in South Africa by Pastor Ray McAuley. McAuley studied in America under Kenneth Hagin (?) of the American Rhema Church. Rhema is particularly known for preaching a gospel of prosperity to the white middle class. Although claiming to be non-political, the conservative impact of Rhema's theology is clear. McAuley has held private prayer meetings with Gatsha Buthelezi, has good contact in the American South and works together with Reinhard Bonnke's Christ for All

USA

Prophet

Nations.

Paul Gifford of the University of Zimbabwe is particularly interested in the Rhema churches. It would be useful to liaise with him in any study of this group.

Rhodesia Christian Group

P.O. Box 430, Chingford, London E4 9SQ, England

SA Catholic Defence League

P.O. Box 226, Silverton 0217 Pretoria
Tel.: (012) 83-1553

A right-wing organization amongst Catholics, affiliated to UCA.

SIGNPOST Publications and Research Centre

Dr. Edward Cain

P.O. Box 26148, Arcadia 0007
Tel.: (012) 98-2680

In its own words, Signposts (the magazine) "is a periodical to inform Christians of all denominations of the threat posed to their faith by the infiltration of Marxist-based ideas under the guise of new interpretations of the Gospel. Signposts adheres to the conservative Biblical understanding of the faith as traditionally held by Christians" [12]. The editor of the magazine, Dr. Cain, is also the director of UCA. Veterans for Victory say of him that he has "spent many years in Mozambique. He has first-hand knowledge on the subversion of the church in South Africa and communist-backed movements in the Republic. [His] Newsletter is a must for anyone who has ever asked: 'What is the Church doing - in particular why do the WCC and its many affiliates support SWAPO and the ANC?'" Cain believes that the West is not doing enough to stop Marxism, and therefore seeks to expose undercover Marxists, especially in the church. He is vehemently opposed to Liberation Theology (which he is clearly well-read in), and its perceived source in South Africa, the Institute for Contextual Theology.

Tradition, Family and Property (TFP)

Johannesburg contact: A.M. Beccar

Bureau for Southern Africa,
P.O. Box 10906, Johannesburg, 2000
Tel.: (011) 640-6071

12. Note at the end of most newsletters, e.g. v. 6, n.5, 1987.

P.O. Box 5576, Cape Town, 8000
Tel.: (021) 685-2989

TFP exists in fifteen countries, and was originally founded by Plinio Correa de Oliveira of Brazil. *In its own words*, its "main goal is the defence of the three basic values of Christian Civilization, ie: tradition, family and private property, against the Socialist and Communist penetration of contemporary society. The TFPs are especially involved in the denunciation and combat of marxist thinking in religious circles, especially the so-called *Liberation Theology*. The ideological fight of the TFP takes into special consideration the maneuvers of Revolutionary Psychological Warfare, communism's most effective tool for the conquest of the West" [13]. The TFP newsletter contains much conservative comment on events in the Catholic church. Recently, TFP campaigned against the New Nation. The South African bishops are severely attacked for their concessions to liberation theology and their failure to take seriously the communist threat. not found

Underground Evangelism

P. Schrimpton

PO Box 17881, 2038 Hillbrow
Tel.: (011) 640-7534

A magazine about running Bibles across the Iron Curtain, and highlighting the plight of persecuted Christians in communist lands. The concerns are similar to Christian Mission International.

United Christian Action (UCA)

Dr. Edward Cain

P.O. Box 35737, Menlo Park 0102
Tel.: (012) 98-1491 Umbrella
A/B

UCA is the umbrella organization of 14 right-wing groups. It claims as members: Bet-El (Group of Ministries), Christians for Partnership Association, Foerdergesellschaft Africa, Frontline Fellowship, German South African Friendship Association, Gospel Defence League, Reformed Independent Churches Association, Rhodesia Christian Group, SA Catholic Defence League, SIGNPOST Publications, The Aida Parker Newsletter, Victims Against Terrorism, Vox Africana. It is not clear how much importance is attached by each of these organizations to their affiliation to UCA. Central features of all these groups are similar - they are mostly non-denominational, they are opposed to the ecumenical movement (WCC, SACC, SACBC, Tutu, Boesak, Beyers Naude), and the 'radical groups' (ANC, UDF, COSATU, ECC). It very definitely

13. Letter by A. M. Beccar, 30/12/87; see file.

engages in the realm of politics; for example it recently devoted three of its newsletters to protest against the release of Govan Mbeki. In a letter to President Reagan congratulating him on vetoing a sanctions bill, UCA claimed a combined membership of 4 million. The director of UCA is Ed Cain, editor of Signposts. UCA seems to be an important organization to investigate more closely. In its own words, support for UCA means "liberation from a fraudulent gospel which is poisoning South African mainline churches ... liberation from one-sided reports by the politicized clergy about the situation in our country ... generating the necessary Christian action to prevent a Marxist take-over of South Africa" [14].

reaction
political

United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP)

Bishop Isaac Mokoena, Mr. J. Linda

The UCCP (a.k.a. the Rhinos) is headed by Bishop Isaac Mokoena of RICA, and Mr. Thamasanqa Linda. Another well-known black right-winger in UCCP is former Soweto mayor Mr. Edward Kunene. UCCP was launched on the 6th October 1986. Its platform includes support for free enterprise, multi-party state, and Christian values. At the launch, no bones were made about the UCCP's hostility towards the UDF. The UCCP denies any government funding. The WM published an article about the launch, date early October 86. See also the Argus and Burger of 7/10/86.

Vereniging Bybel en Volk

This seems to be a recent group formed in the Doppe (Gereformeerde) Church (October 1985). Its members include Carel Boshoff, head of Afrikaner Volkswag.

Veterans for Victory

P.O. Box 87752, Houghton 2041
P.O. Box 2589, Windhoek 9000

The main reason for the existence of Vets seems to be its opposition to the ECC.

Victims against Terrorism

P.O. Box 89180, Lyndhurst 2106

Western Cape Council of Churches

The following information is based on an interview with a

14. UCA, pamphlet 'Join the Winning Side: Liberate South Africa from the politicized clergy', see ASL Collection.

reporter of Die Vaderland, 11/1/88.

The WCCC was launched, according to its members, to maintain peace and to secure education for the children. It claims membership from the Independent churches, Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans and the NG Sendingskerk, but members are so far drawn exclusively from the Independent churches. Geographically, it draws its support mainly from Old Crossroads (and to a lesser extent Khayelitsha Site C), and enjoys the full support of Ngxobongwana. It is divided into three divisions: The youth section aims to teach the youth obedience and respect for their fathers, the women's section similarly aims to bring the troublesome women back under control. "We all know that women are very problematic, and get stuck in petty differences. We know that they cannot function without men on top of them." The women are to start self-help groups, and are to be encouraged to discipline their children. The Welfare Section aims to provide help for the aged and handicapped, and build medical clinics. Funding for all these efforts has been promised by the Urban Foundation, membership fees and the government. The WCCC also hopes to approach the mainline churches for funds. The relationship to Community Councils is, by the WCCC's own assertion, very close. Though at present all members are ministers, the Council is very open to community councillors serving on it. The WCCC is obviously set up in opposition to the WPCC, with whom it has not taken up contact.

The Council seems to be one of the clearest cases of a government-initiated and supported religious structure. While the state keeps its role covert and operates through proxies like Ngxobongwana, its financial assistance and the closeness to the Community Councils (and probably to JMCs as well) as evidence of the links. A front page picture of the launch of the Council showed churchpeople next to community councillors next to government officials (CT - July 87?). It also seemed that the Council members had been briefed with pat answers for certain questions, and had no clear analysis of their situation themselves. (They do, however, have strong feelings against the 'children', i.e. the comrades.) It would be worth finding out whether similar structures have been set up elsewhere in SA or in Namibia.

Apart from the above information, the only source on the WCCC so far is an article in South, which followed up one member at the launch, Lutheran pastor Erlo Stegen. Stegen runs an evangelical mission called Kwa Siza Bantu in Natal.

Women for South Africa

Gabrielle Malan

P.O. Box 1976 Rustenburg 0300

or:

P.O.Box 48020, Roosevelt Park 2129

Tel.: (011) 782-4995

Gabrielle Malan writes most of the pamphlets for this organization. It appeals to mothers to protect their children from the dangers of communism, the ECC etc.

Young South Africans for a Christian Civilization

A white right-wing Catholic youth group, which is closely related to Tradition, Family and Property.

Part III: ANALYSIS OF THE PRIMARY MATERIAL

An important part of this pilot study consisted of writing letters to many of the organizations listed above, and requesting their newsletter. Many responded quite promptly. The primary material collected in this way has been collected in a file, and is to be housed in the African Studies Library. The ASL is consulting with us about the best ways to categorize and file the material.

This primary material is obviously an important base for any investigation of the groups. The material can be subjected to various forms of analysis - content analysis, theological critique etc. What I have attempted to do here is simply to draw out some of the common themes and features - theological and non-theological - which link the publications of the various organizations.

Common
Themes

Anti-Communism

Perhaps the most pervasive feature of RWCGs is their opposition to communism. This takes different forms, and what the groups mean by communism is not always the same, but every group would equate communism with evil, and vehemently oppose it.

evil

Christian Mission International, for example, is inspired by opposition to Soviet and East European communism. It involves itself in ministry to Christians behind the Iron Curtain, smuggles Bibles across borders, and publicizes the fate of persecuted Christians in those countries. CMI says that "communism is the most aggressive enemy of the church" [15]. A similar position might be adopted by Tradition, Family and Property (TFP), whose principle of defending private property obviously puts them in opposition to any form of socialism or communism. TFP felt that it would be inappropriate for the Pope even to visit Russia.

persecution

property

A magazine like Signposts, by contrast, would focus much more on the local manifestations of communism, in Southern Africa. This latter form of anti-communism is more prevalent. It would also oppose liberation theology in particular, which would be seen as communism in the church, disguised in Christian form. Thus Archbishop Tutu is regularly portrayed as a communist. Women for South Africa published a pamphlet entitled 'The Marxist Version of the Truth', in which it is explained how communists work through rent boycott committees, people's

lib

15. Voice of the Martyrs, no. 8 for 1987, p.1.

courts, and crisis centres. The ECC is, of course, merely a front for communists, as are the UDF, NECC, COSATU and even the SACC and SACBC. The WCC is regularly censured for its support for the ANC and other 'terrorist organizations' (see Anti-Ecumenism below). The Gospel Defence League, too, is particularly concerned with communism in the churches.

While the anti-communism of many of these groups is virulent, it is often not well-informed. Communism is simply equated with evil, and thus any need for analysis of its theory or practice becomes unnecessary. Claims to have uncovered the secret workings of communists [16] are sensationalist. Anti-communism plays much on the fear of the unknown, as well as appealing to the material interests of white middle-class church goers.

*Simplistic
sensationalist*

Apolitical Posture

This trend would seem at first glance to be in contradiction with the anti-communism described above. This is, however, not the case, as RWCGs see opposition to communism as opposition to evil. The fight against communism is described in terms of spiritual warfare, and is mandatory for every Christian. This propagandistic trick allows them to 'accuse' radical organizations of 'meddling in politics' (i.e. a sphere which is not legitimate ground for Christian involvement), while portraying their own politics as spiritual activity. Operation Esther gives a good example of this schizophrenic attitude:

*anti-communism
as spiritual
activity*

Pray against the satanic forces, infiltrating from neighbouring countries, seeking to demoralize and destroy our Country [read: communists, ANC]. 'For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places' [17].

CMI, as noted above, describes itself as a "faith, conservative, Christian, anti-Communism, non-Political Missionary Organisation". Non-political and anti-communist are thus quite reconcilable.

ProTest claims not to be bound to any political party or organization. This is an almost universal claim of RWCGs. By denying that they are linked to a particular party, these groups feel that they qualify for 'neutral' status. That they go on to make very direct ideological and political interventions, and that they support certain individuals and

16. e.g. Signposts, v.6, n.3, 1987. pp. 2-3 - Revolutionary Psychological Warfare

17. Operation Esther, 'Prayer and Intercession Guideline', undated; see ASL Collection.

groups over against others, is downplayed. The contradictions inherent in this position could easily be exposed. NB

Anti-Ecumenism

This takes the form of vilifying the WCC, the SACC, the SACBC, and sometimes even the 'liberal' mainline churches. Signposts v.6, n.6, also identified ICT as a chief source of liberation theology in SA. Individuals involved with these organizations are also singled out, above all Archbishop Desmond Tutu (who had entire editions of Pendulum and the Aida Parker Newsletter devoted to him), Dr. Beyers Naude and Allan Boesak. The Kairos Document is a frequent object of right wing analysis. Three such attacks were Peter Beyerhaus's 'Critical Assessment' published by the GDL, Jeffree James's 'That Kairos Document', and CMI's 'When God is Replaced'.

The charges against these organizations and individuals are the standard. They are accused of lending financial and moral support to the ANC and other 'terrorist organizations'. Secondly, they bring a 'foreign gospel', namely liberation theology into the churches. This theology is seen as thinly-veiled Marxist ideology, which by subtle means is designed to subvert the faith of Bible-believing Christians.

While attacking the ecumenical movement, RWCGs often stress that they are inter-denominational. They thus do not attack the ecumenical movement for being ecumenical, but for mixing Christianity with politics (the wrong kind). RWCGs proceed to mix Christianity with their kind of politics, which is of course the right kind. another contradiction

Personal Salvation

RWCGs share the evangelical emphasis on personal salvation. The proper task of the church is to save souls, not to liberate people, as the communist liberation theologians teach. NB Dorothea Scarborough, for example, likes ending her Gospel Defence League newsletter with a paragraph which repeats basic evangelical truths. This is one of the means by which their opposition to left-wing politics is couched in apolitical terms.

Linked to this focus is a stress that divine rather than human action is the solution to South Africa's problems. Says Scarborough: "We do not need a utopian vision based on a humanistic socialist ideology" [18]. Rather, we need to return to "His absolute, unmerited Grace that is strong enough and desirous enough to save the whole world". In theory, then, RWCGs would encourage Christians to be politically passive. In practice however, these groups see themselves as stung into action by the threat of a communist take-over of country and True! the Kingdom

church.

Biblical Fundamentalism

This is another trait which RWCGs have inherited from their evangelical roots. The Bible is the Word of God, which is taken to mean that every single word is verbally inspired. The use of Scripture amongst RWCGs is correspondingly uncritical. Critical biblical scholarship is seen to be part of the liberation theology/socialist/demonic onslaught on true Christians. Liberation theologians are accused of reading false ideologies into the Bible, which is taken to be value-free.

Biblical fundamentalism often leads RWCGs to believe that what they are preaching has direct divine authority. This explains the dogmatism with which they adhere to their beliefs, and the confidence in their own position. This dogmatism is also often accompanied by an authoritarian internal structure of the organization - those most directly in touch with God are to obeyed unquestioningly.

more info
than the type

Part IV: A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO RIGHT-WING RELIGION

In order to understand right wing Christianity, it is not enough to describe the groups which exist and to note some common features and themes. The task of developing a theoretical approach to understand these groups, should be tackled at the same time as more information about them is compiled. The aim of this part of the pilot study is merely to raise the important theoretical issues which will need to be addressed.

Crisis and the Need for Firm Values

The work of Morran and Schlemmer provides a useful overview of theoretical approaches (ch. 5). The authors themselves seem to find Social Disorganization Theories most helpful - basically the Durkheimian notion that in times of social disorder, a situation of anomie or normlessness arises. Religious groups are able to fulfill the resulting need for clear values. In the case of RWCGs, their dogmatic, authoritarian formulations provide a 'firm anchor' in the troubled sea of South African society.

uncertainty.

Morran and Schlemmer also note other possible explanations. Economic Deprivation Theories hold that those who are materially deprived find compensation in religious privilege. However, in South Africa, this would not account for the growth of RWCGs amongst the white middle class, unless the theory is rephrased in terms of relative deprivation. Meaning and

Belonging Theories posit that the need for meaning and belonging exists at all times and that religion fulfills these needs. This theory may be seen as complementary to the previous two, as such needs would be enhanced in times of crisis.

A psychological approach to RWCGs suggests that certain personality types are more likely to be attracted - guilty, anxious, depressed, fearful, insecure people. Again, this kind of explanation does not contradict the broader sociological explanation, but may well explain it in more detail at the personal level.

All the above explanations seem to have a basic pattern in common. People are seen to have a basic need for clear norms and values, and this need is fulfilled by religious groups. In times of social crisis/economic deprivation/personal anxiety, these needs become greater. Those groups offering a more authoritarian and dogmatic teaching become more attractive, which explains the growth of RWCGs in South Africa. Their fundamentalist approach claims direct authority from God, and the fact that they focus away from the problems of this world is attractive.

The Question of Opium

The theories offered by Morran and Schlemmer all follow - more or less - the Durkheimian pattern. The obvious alternative is to ask to what extent right wing Christianity is an 'opium for the people'. Rather than arising from the needs created by a social crisis, the suggestion would be that religion is being actively used by the ruling classes as a mechanism of control. The problem with such an explanation is that the links between the ruling classes and the religious groups need to be carefully demonstrated. Thus the task of showing how the South African government directly uses Christianity, and to what extent it supports RWCGs, is a crucial one. The two forms of explanation are not mutually exclusive, since the crisis is the creation of the ruling classes. The theoretical question which needs to be answered is how much one ascribes the rise of RWCGs to active conspiracy, and how much to more indirect social processes.

The question of conspiracy theory also arises at the international level. There are certainly clear links between South African RWCGs and the New Religious Right in America. However, are these links "forged of ideology, history and world-view, [and] not of conspiracy" (NACLA, 1984:24). Certainly, there are ideological links, but what room is there for conspiracy theory? Again, the proof of the pudding would be to

demonstrate active engagement by US right wingers in supporting South African RWCGs financially, organizationally, by personnel etc. [19].

Analysis in terms of Race and Class

An important question is whether RWCGs have a clearly identifiable class base. This is particularly pertinent to 'prosperity cults' such as Rhema. A first impression seems to indicate that RWCGs of varying descriptions are found amongst all classes. Similarly, one could also examine the racial composition of RWCGs. More broadly, one can ask whether the RWCGs are clearly identified with one social grouping in SA, or whether they cut across the sociological divides of our society.

A Theological Question

The approach that is taken on the question of conspiracy may have much to do with the theological position. Are these groups to be seen as Christian, are individual members Christians? Frank Chikane in his initial proposal suggested otherwise:

Although they try to represent themselves as disciples of Christ in defence of the Christian faith against atheist communism ... a closer look at them shows that they are just part and parcel of conservative forces in South Africa and internationally which are committed to maintain the status quo (oppressive and fascist regimes) and have declared war against any form of change to establish a more just world than we have today. In fact our thesis here is that they are in arms against the eminent Kingdom of God [Chikane, 'Proposal'].

An alternative approach would be to grant these groups that their claim to be Christian is sincere, and to seek to show how they have gone beyond the limits of what is truly Christian.

While this question may not be the most pressing one at the beginning, when the tasks are mainly descriptive or sociologically analytical, it will become important when a theological critique and response to these groups is formulated.

Categorization

One of the most difficult tasks will be to develop a useful typology of RWCGs. They might be split up amongst a number of lines: denominationally based / inter-denominational;

19. See Paul Gifford's article, pp. 78/9 and 88/9 for such evidence in the case of CfAN.

apolitical, politically passive / militantly conservative; those rooted in the evangelical tradition / others; government funded or supported / independent; indigenous groups / US imports. To create categories for all possible combinations would be confusing; the question is which of these divisions are theoretically important. I tried to develop a typology in the course of this study, and came up with the following one. It will no doubt need to be modified as more research is done.

Typology

1. Evangelistic Groups:

Theologically conservative, adopting an apolitical posture, usually inter-denominational, focusing mainly on evangelism; e.g. Christ for All Nations, Bet-El Group of Ministries.

2. Groups in Specific Denominations:

Reactionary

Arising in response to the politicization of their churches, fairly clearly indigenous, mostly claim to be apolitical; e.g. Anglicans Concerned for Truth and Spirituality, NG Bond, Cercos (Afrikaans churches), proTest (Lutheran), Catholic Defence League, Tradition Family and Property (Catholic), Vereniging Bybel en Volk (Doppers).

3. Right Wing Churches

Groups which have set themselves up as alternative churches, e.g. Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk, Rhema, various Christian Centres.

4. Activist Groups

Politically militant, generally interdenominational, divide in South African and clearly imported; SA - Frontline Fellowship, Gospel Defence League, Operation Esther, Signposts, Tradition Family and Property, Catholic Defence League, United Christian Action, Women for South Africa, other - Christian Mission International, Rhodesia Christian Group, Jimmy Swaggart Missions.

5. Structures and Federations close to the State

AICS

All three operate mainly amongst the African Independent churches. Western Cape Council of Churches, United Christian Conciliation Party, Reformed Independent Churches Association

Conservative Theology and Right Wing Politics

The question of how conservative theology and politics relate to one another is central to this area of study. Many of the groups studied are based in the evangelical tradition, and are still closely related to evangelical churches. These churches have traditionally been theologically conservative, and most of them have also been politically conservative. However, a significant part of evangelicalism has shifted somewhat closer to the political centre, for example, the Baptist Union of SA

has discussed the South African crisis quite openly. Theological conservatism does not necessarily entail right wing politics, but there does exist a significant correlation. Nor, conversely, does a liberal theological position guarantee radical politics. There are many liberal theologians who are conservative.

An interesting observation in this regard is that evangelicals are generally a passive conservative political force rather than an active one. In other words, they do not usually engage in politics actively, but more often exert a conservative influence by encouraging their members not to challenge the status quo. If this is accurate, then the evangelical RWCGs can be conceived of as the active, militant part of a much larger, passive whole, i.e. they are those evangelicals who have been stung into action.

The need to address this problem is two-fold: Firstly, the causal connection (if any) should be clarified for theoretical clarity, and secondly, the wide-spread influence of the evangelical tradition in SA makes it important not to conflate evangelicalism and right wing Christianity.

A different way of phrasing this question is by conceptualizing RWCGs in the context of the church as a site of struggle. If RWCGs are seen as the active part of the reactionary forces in the church, the question is how they relate to conservative forces outside of the church. How does the struggle in the church relate to the broader political struggle? And what are the respective roles of theology and politics in this?

While this issue is a thorny one, and perhaps one that is incapable of resolution at a theoretical level, it is a useful issue to address because it links the study of RWCGs into a wider set of questions and a broader analysis.

Part V: PROPOSALS FOR THE PROJECT

Areas of Study

Generally speaking, the tasks of the project could be seen as descriptive on the one hand and analytical on the other. Analysis should include both sociological and theological analysis. Both description and analysis could be published in books and journals.

Once some material is available, the question of popularizing the information will become important. The department might consider producing pamphlets, or encouraging other institutions or organizations to do so. *pamphlets*

Theological and Biblical Critique

This comes top of the list not because it should be done first, but because it is probably the most important counter-strategy. A critique of the RWCGs could begin by taking the primary material collected, and subjecting it to a rigorous theological analysis. Similarly, the use of the Bible by these groups could be analysed. *θ. use of Bible*

Focus on Key Individuals

Some of the key individuals, whose names keep coming up in right wing publications, could be interviewed, and their biographies investigated. Such people include Dorothea Scarborough (GDL, and writes for several others), Dr. Edward Cairn (UCA and Signposts), Bishop Isaac Mokoena (RICA and UCCP), Ray McAuley (Rhema), Kenneth Copeland (associated with McAuley and Bonnke), and possibly Reinhard Bonnke (CfAN). One could also compare such individuals to a prominent liberal evangelical, such as Michael Cassidy (Africa Enterprise and NIR).

Case studies

A fruitful method of research would be the detailed study of one right wing group. One could select a fairly large or important organization (e.g. United Christian Action), and find out details of its structure, funding, theology, training, political position, etc. This would be more useful initially than the attempt to study all groups at once. *one study*
NB

The State and Religion

An important area which has not been covered at all in this

pilot study is the state's use of religion [20]. The state publishes reports on religion, controls religion in the schools and in the media. SABC programmes on liberation theology spring to mind. Another large area would be the use of proxies by the state, and the extent to which it funds structures such as the WCCC. A particular event which could be analysed under this heading is P.W. Botha's visit to Zion City Moria a few years ago.

Links

A related area is that of establishing clear evidence of links between various RWCGs, between RWCGs and SAN conservatives, and between RWCGs and US conservatives. The latter in particular deserves detailed attention. It might be useful to contact some of the US institutes and organizations which have documented the New Religious Right, and ask them whether they could establish South African connections of any of those groups from their side. US research groups might also be able to tell us how they began their research.

Particularly vital is information regarding financial links. Links could also take the form of training ministers, sending literature, making technical know-how available ...

Media

There are literally thousands of Christian bookshops in South Africa, and most of them sell theologically conservative material. SAN Christian Publishing houses similarly concentrate on conservative theology. Many RWCGs are increasingly also using videos, and have long been selling cassettes. Conservative groups also use radio stations, and it may not be long before they gain access to the television as well. Jimmy Swaggart has managed to gain regular access to SABC TV time, as well as receiving coverage by Bop TV and others (see above). This is an area in which the ideological influence of US evangelicals is quite tangible. A starting point for an investigation of Christian media in South Africa could be the South African Christian Handbook.

Theological Training Centres

There are many conservative bible colleges, seminaries and theological training centres in SA (see the South African Christian Handbook). It would be worth investigating which of these centres are favoured by the more extreme RWCGs. The issue of separating conservative theology from conservative politics becomes important here.

20. See for example C. Villa-Vicencio, 'Theology in the Service of the State', in Resistance and Hope, ed. by C. Villa-Vicencio and J.W. de Gruchy.

Theory

The whole area of developing a coherent theory to explain the history, growth and appeal of RWCGs (as outlined in Part IV above) becomes a project of its own. This incorporates a detailed *sociological critique* of RWCGs, according to race and class etc.

History

The history of RWCGs needs to be understood - where they originally came from and what influences shaped the course of their development. For many of the groups, this would entail studying the history of evangelicalism in South Africa. It would probably be worth asking the RWCGs themselves for an account of their history.

Methods of Conducting the Project

General

Generally, methods for gathering more information include obtaining more primary material (will be done by ASL), setting up a data base and bibliography, and acquiring important books on the subjects for the library. Field-work, i.e. going out there and getting new information, is indispensable. This could include interviews with people involved, both leadership and ordinary members; and participant observation, i.e. attending the meetings of RWCGs. Finally, it will be vital for the project to initiate and maintain contact with others who are already doing research in this area, or who might be interested.

Co-ordination

It may become necessary, if the project becomes large and involves different institutions, to appoint someone to co-ordinate research.

Encouraging Research Elsewhere

Apart from encouraging investigative journalism (see below), it would be good for research to be done in as many places as possible. This would both increase the volume of material produced. It is suggested that the Department send a shortened copy of this report to other interested individuals and groups.

Academic Course

Once some material has been generated, a post-graduate course on Right Wing Christianity could be offered by the Department. If SAN material is thin, the course could begin with a study of material produced on the US New Religious Right, and studies of RWCGs in the Third World (esp. Latin America and the Phillipines). The second half of the course could involve field

work in which students chose one group or area and investigated it in some detail. Possibly, the findings of such a course could be published collectively.

A similar idea would be to encourage a Masters or PhD student to devote his/her thesis to this area.

Press

An important task would be for someone to encourage journalists of the Weekly Mail, South, New Nation, Grassroots, Argus, City Press, the Star, Crisis News and free-lancers, to do some investigative journalism in the area. It would be necessary to provide such journalists with a basic address list and perhaps a short introduction to RWCGs. They could be asked to send copies of any articles they publish to the Department or to the African Studies Library.

Concerning newspaper articles, it would be essential to attempt to uncover as many articles on RWCGs as possible. One way of doing this would be to ask Barry Streek, SA Pressclips, 36 Woodside Rd., Cape Town, Tel.: 23-1742, to do this for either the Department or the Library. SA Pressclips go back to 1978, cover most major SAn newspapers, reduce articles onto A4 sheets, and charge 25c for each such sheet.

Denominations

A method of discovering more groups is to approach members of each denomination, and to ask them about right wingers operating in their churches.

People

It would be worth compiling a list of people who do have some information about RWCGs.

Part VI: LISTS OF RESOURCES AVAILABLE

REFERENCE WORKS

These reference books may be useful in locating further right-wing organizations and finding the addresses of groups.

Froise, M. (ed.)

1986 South African Christian Handbook 1986/87,
World Vision, Florida (Tvl); UCT BA 276.8025 SOU

Human Awareness Programme

1987 Bridge 1987: an index of organizations at work in South Africa, HAP, Grant Park; UCT R 068.68 BRI

Menendez, Albert J. (US Bibliography)

1985 Bibliography on the New Christian Right, in
Religious Conflict in America: A Bibliography, pp.
111-7, Grand Publishing Inc., N.Y. and London

Pierard, Richard V. (US Bibliography)

1981 'Bibliography on the New Christian Right', in
ISE Bulletin, v.5, n.2, Nov/Dec 1981

South African Institute of Race Relations

1986 Survey, Part I; see pp. 175-6 on UCCP, and index
UCT 323.16805 (S/L)

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Celia Walter of the UCT Library is working on developing a comprehensive data base for both left and right-wing groupings, as well as a bibliography and a collection of primary material. The references marked with a * are by right-wingers themselves, those marked + do not relate directly to South Africa.

Bond, J.

1974 'Pentecostalism in the Pentecostal Churches' in
JISA 7, pp. 10-22

Collier, Edwina

1982 'Born again or fooled again', Rand Daily Mail
25/11/82

Copeland, Kenneth *

1974 The Laws of Prosperity, Kenneth Copeland
Publications, Fort Worth

1979 Welcome to the Family, Kenneth Copeland
Publications, Fort Worth

Ecumenical Research Unit

1983 Throw yourself down: a consideration of the main
teachings of the prosperity cults, ERU, Pretoria

Gifford, Paul

1987 ' "Africa shall be Saved": An appraisal of Reinhard
Bonnke's pan African crusade', in Journal of
Religion in Africa, vol. XVII, 1, Feb. 1987
UCT 205

Hagin, Kenneth E. *

1980a How to write your own ticket with God,
Faith Library Publications, USA

1980b Don't blame God, Faith Library

1980c Ministering to the oppressed, Faith Library

1981 Redeemed from poverty, sickness and death
Faith Library

Jackson, Gordon

1978 'South Africa's new Evangelicals: a new movement with
new answers', To the Point, June 2,
UCT BA 052 TOT; s. 79/594

McAuley, Ray *

1984 'In the Interests of Clarity' in New Vision 9 (1),
pp. 14-15

Marsden, George M. +

1980 Fundamentalism and American Culture: the Shaping of
Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925, Oxford
University Press, New York

1982 'Preachers of Paradox: the Religious New Right in
Historical Perspective', in M. Douglas and S. Jipton
(ed.s), Religion and America: Spiritual Life in a
Secular Age, Beacon Press, Boston

Morran, Elda S. and Schlemmer, Lawrence

1984 Faith for the Fearful? An Investigation into new
churches in the greater Durban area, commissioned
by Diakonia, Centre for Applied Social Sciences,
University of Natal, Durban; UCT 289.9 MORR

Nipper, Arthur R.W. *

1981 The key to prosperity, Arthur Nipper, SA

North American Congress on Latin America +
1984 NACLA Report vol. XVIII, no. 1, 'The Salvation Brokers:
Conservative Evangelicals in Central America'

Stoll, David +
1982 Fishers of Men or Founders of Empire? The Wycliffe
Bible Translators in Latin America, Zed Press, London

Verryyn, Trevor
1983 Rich Christian, poor Christian: an appraisal of
Rhema teachings, Ecumenical Research Unit, Pretoria

JOURNALS, NEWSLETTERS, PAMPHLETS

Anti-Com Newsletter, UCT BA 261.05 ANT

Christian Living Today

Clarion Call

Cross-Times, P.O. Box 261, Claremont 7735

Die Afrikaner, paper of the Conservative Party

Die Kerkbode, UCT 285.7105 KER

Focus, UCT BU 248.405 FOC

'Grondwet', by the AWB, UCT BA 320.54 AFRI

SA Vernuwing/SA Renewal, P.O. Box 2504, Pretoria

Sweepslag: mondstuk van die AWB, UCT BA 320.5405 SWE

LIBRARIES

The following libraries may have useful information about
some of these groups.

Argus Editorial Library
122 St. George's Str., P.O. Box 58, Cape Town 8000

Cape Times Editorial Library
Box 11, Cape Town 8000

Centre for Intergroup Studies
University Ave., UCT

CPSA Cape Diocesan Library
Church House, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town

Ecumenical Research Unit
Address unknown, has published useful material already,
seems very much worth contacting (Pretoria), perhaps through
UNISA?

NGK Archive and Reference Library
5th Floor, NGK Sentrum, Grey's Pass, Cape Town

PFP Library
Garmor House, Plein Str., Cape Town

Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Library
Cathedral Place, 12 Bouquet Str., Cape Town

SALDRU Library
6th Floor, Robert Leslie Bldg., UCT
files on 'Church and State', and 'NG Kerk'

South African Library
Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town; esp. a Pamphlet Collection

SRC Resource Centre
2nd Floor, Students' Union, UCT, esp. a file on NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) Reports, which gives an analysis of the kinds of groups we are interested in, operating in Central America;
NACLA, 151 West 19th Street, 9th floor, New York, NY 10011

Theology Exchange Programme (TEP) Library
6th Floor, Ledger House, Arden Rd., Athlone
Tel.: 633-4105

Collection Number: AG1977

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a collection held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.